

**ARE WE ALL NOW
MULTICULTURALISTS, ASSIMILATIONISTS, NEITHER,
OR BOTH?**

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Outline

- Why is anti-immigration sentiment roiling politics in America and Europe?
- The problem of Us and Them.
- Assimilation and Multiculturalism as Policy Alternatives
- Is there a swing in the policy pendulum toward assimilation?

Data to be shown

- Public opinion about multiculturalism in the U.S.
- National identity and immigration attitudes: do Multicultural Policies matter?
- Modeling European opposition to immigration; the role of policies, economic, and immigration flows
- A final verdict on the title of the talk

Assimilation versus Multiculturalism

- **ASSIMILATION:** no government support for maintaining cultural differences, promote linguistic assimilation, inculcate patriotism and national identification, oppose group rights. The unum dominates the plures.

- **MULTICULTURALISM:** recognition of minority cultural and assuring survival through government effort; bilingual policies, arouse and sustain ethnic identities rather than promoting an overarching national identity, descriptive representation and group rights to assure political voice for minorities.

Table 1
Citizenship Policy and Liberalizing or Restrictive Change since 1990

| | Grants Jus Soli at Birth | Years of Required Residence | Allowance for Dual Citizenship | Civic Integration Requirements | |
|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| | | | | Language | Country Knowledge |
| Austria | No | 10 | No | Yes (1998) | Yes (2006) |
| Belgium | Yes (1992) | 3 to 5 (2009) | Yes | No (2000) Yes (2010) | No |
| Denmark | No | 7 to 9 (2002) | No | Yes (2002; 2006; 2008) | Yes (2002; 2006; 2008) |
| Finland | No | 5 to 6 (2003) | Yes (2003) | Yes (2003) | No |
| France | Yes | 5 | Yes | Yes | Yes (2003) |
| Germany | Yes (2000) | 15 to 8 (2000) | No | Yes (2000) | Yes (2007) |
| Greece | Yes (2010) | 10 to 7 (2010) | Yes | Yes (2000) | Yes (2000; 2010) |
| Ireland | Yes | 4 | Yes | No | No |
| Italy | No | 5 to 10 (1992) | Yes (1992) | No | No |
| Luxembourg | Yes (2008) | 5 to 7 (2008) | Yes (2008) | Yes (2001) | Yes (2008) |
| Netherlands | Yes | 5 | Yes (1992); No (1997) | Yes (2003) | Yes (2003) |
| Portugal | Yes (1994; 2006) | 10 to 6 (2006) | Yes | Yes (2006) | No |
| Spain | Yes | 10 | No | Yes | No |
| Sweden | No | 5 | Yes (2001) | No | No |
| UK | Yes | 5 to 8 (2009) | Yes | Yes (2002) | Yes (2002) |

Table 1 showed

- Addition of language and civic education requirements in many countries.

Some movement to *ius soli* and mixed results for extending residency requirements.

Bottom Line: pressure for cultural assimilation as condition for naturalization and even migration

COMPONENTS TO THE MULTICULTURAL POLICY INDEX TO BE USED IN STATISTICAL COMPARISONS

- Constitutional, legal or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism;
- The adoption of multiculturalism in the school curriculum;
- Inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the public media;
- Exemptions from dress codes or Sunday closing legislation;
- Allowing dual citizenship;
- The funding of ethnic group organizations for cultural activities;
- Funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction;
- Affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups.

Table 2
Immigrant Minority Policy Scores
Categorization and Change Over Time, 1980-2010

| | Total Score | | | Change Over Time | | |
|----------------|-------------|------|------|------------------|------------|------------|
| | 1980 | 2000 | 2010 | 1980 | 2000 | 2010 |
| Canada | 5 | 7.5 | 7.5 | Modest | Strong (+) | Strong |
| Australia | 4 | 8 | 8 | Modest | Strong (+) | Strong |
| Austria | 0 | 1 | 1.5 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Belgium | 1 | 3 | 5.5 | Weak | Modest (+) | Modest |
| Denmark | 0 | 0.5 | 0 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Finland | 0 | 1.5 | 6 | Weak | Weak | Strong (+) |
| France | 1 | 2 | 2 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Germany | 0 | 2 | 2.5 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Greece | 0.5 | 0.5 | 2.5 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Ireland | 1 | 1.5 | 3 | Weak | Weak | Modest (+) |
| Italy | 0 | 1.5 | 1 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Netherlands | 2.5 | 5.5 | 2 | Weak | Modest (+) | Weak (-) |
| New Zealand | 2.5 | 5 | 5.5 | Weak | Modest (+) | Modest |
| Norway | 0 | 0 | 2.5 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| Portugal | 1 | 2 | 3.5 | Weak | Weak | Modest (+) |
| Spain | 0 | 1 | 3.5 | Weak | Weak | Modest (+) |
| Sweden | 3 | 5 | 7 | Modest | Modest | Strong (+) |
| Switzerland | 0 | 1 | 1 | Weak | Weak | Weak |
| United Kingdom | 2.5 | 5.5 | 5.5 | Weak | Modest (+) | Modest |
| United States | 3 | 3 | 3 | Modest | Modest | Modest |

What Table 2 showed

- Anglo-Saxon countries at the top of the MCP Index.
- General addition of MCP policies between 1980-2000.
- 2000-2010 Netherlands retreats from MCP, Sweden and Finland add MCP. All three countries experience growth of right wing anti-immigrant parties.

Table 3
American Belief in Multicultural Norms

| | Whites | Blacks | Latinos |
|---|--------|--------|---------|
| Ethnic minority groups in the United States are very distinct and very different from one another (2002 GSS) (% agree) | 61 | 59 | 59 |
| Ethnic minority groups will never really fit in with mainstream American culture (GSS 2002) (% disagree) | 15 | 17 | 16 |
| People should think of themselves first and foremost as an individual American, rather than as a member of a racial, religious, or ethnic group (1994/5 LACSS) (% disagree) | 9 | 23 | 24 |
| Should different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct cultures and traditions, or adapt and blend into the larger society as in the idea of the melting pot? (% maintain distinctiveness) | | | |
| 1994 GSS | 30 | 41 | -- |
| 1994-5 LACSS | 26 | 31 | 29 |
| 2004 GSS | 41 | 50 | -- |
| Are people best represented in politics by leaders from their own racial or ethnic background or doesn't the leader's background make much difference? (% own background) | | | |
| GSS 1994 | 34 | 43 | -- |
| LACSS 1994 | 35 | 41 | 37 |
| Political organizations based on race or ethnicity promote separatism and make it hard for all of us to live together (% disagree) | | | |
| GSS 1994 | 13 | 29 | -- |
| LACSS 1994 | 14 | 30 | 28 |
| Should congressmen have the same racial or ethnic background as their constituents or be considered purely on the basis of ability? (% ethnicity) | | | |
| GSS 1994 | 6 | 28 | -- |
| LACSS 1994 | 8 | 19 | 23 |

Note: For agree-disagree items, base includes "neither agree nor disagree."

Sources:1994, 2002, 2004 GSS; Los Angeles County Social Survey cumulative file, LACSS 1994, 1995m, 2001 and 2002 individual year files.

Summary of Table 3

- Americans believe that ethnic identifications are strong and group differences exist
- But believe that common culture can develop
- Prefer assimilation to sustaining cultural differences but believe these aren't incompatible
- Reject strong multiculturalism demand for group representation in politics and schools

Two Concepts of National Identity

- Some people emphasize ethnic/ascriptive criteria like ancestry, nativity and religion as a basis for being a “true” national.
- Others emphasize civic/achievable criteria like respect for political principles and feeling committed.
- ISSP surveys track these beliefs from 1995 to 2003
- Results in Table 4 (next slide) show a shift toward ascriptive definitions between 1995-2003 even in strong MCP countries like Canada and Australia and the U.S.

Table 4: Conceptions of National Identity
% Respondents Claiming Each Item is “Very Important”

| Country | MCP Score | Born in Country | | Language | | Religion | | Respect Institutions and Laws | | Feel like National | |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | | 2003 | 2003 1995 | 2003 | 2003 1995 | 2003 | 2003 1995 | 2003 | 2003 1995 | 2003 | 2003 1995 |
| Australia | S | 33 | 4 | 64 | 3 | 20 | 5 | 49 | -20 | 63 | -9 |
| UK | M | 47 | -3 | 65 | 0 | 18 | -4 | 50 | -7 | 44 | -9 |
| <i>USA</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>57</i> | <i>16</i> | <i>83</i> | <i>12</i> | <i>50</i> | <i>11</i> | <i>72</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>68</i> | <i>6</i> |
| Switzerland | W | 53 | -5 | 13 | -2 | 30 | -2 | 37 | -6 | 51 | -16 |
| New Zealand | M | 51 | 10 | 69 | 8 | 22 | 6 | 53 | -6 | 64 | -3 |
| Canada | S | 46 | 21 | 69 | 20 | 32 | 17 | 66 | 1 | 64 | 1 |
| Norway | W | 32 | -3 | 77 | 3 | 9 | -1 | 72 | -8 | 50 | -12 |
| Sweden | M | 22 | -5 | 70 | -1 | 7 | -1 | 79 | -15 | 46 | -11 |
| Germany | W | 27 | -2 | 65 | 11 | 12 | -4 | 39 | -14 | 32 | -14 |
| Austria | W | 48 | 2 | 69 | 2 | 29 | -3 | 45 | -11 | 59 | -9 |
| Spain | W | 38 | 1 | 34 | 2 | 14 | -4 | 35 | 2 | 37 | -8 |
| Total | | 40 | 4 | 61 | 5 | 21 | 3 | 53 | -6 | 53 | -7 |

Notes: Data from the ISSP. Table includes only countries surveyed in 1995 and 2003, and “Can’t Choose” and NA respondents are excluded. Calls in bold indicate a year to year change that is statistically significant at $p < .05$. S refers to strong MCP score, M=moderate, w=weak.

Patriotism and Immigrant sentiment

- Next slides show the relationship between different measures of national attachment and anti-immigrant sentiment.
- Results are: general feelings of pride are almost everywhere related to opposition to immigration-Canada an exception
- Patriotic nationalism is favorable to immigration, chauvinistic nationalism is the opposite.

Patriotic Nationalism Index

How proud are you of [country] in each of the following?

1. The way democracy works
2. [country's] economic achievements
3. [country's] social security systems
4. Its scientific and technological achievements
5. Its achievements in the arts
6. Its history
7. Its fair and equal treatment of all groups in society

Chauvinistic Nationalism Index

**How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
(Agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, disagree strongly)**

1. I would rather be a citizen of a [country] than of any other country in the world
2. The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the [country nationality]
3. Generally speaking, [country] is a better country than most other countries
4. People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong

How proud are you of [country] in each of the following?

5. Its political influence in the world
6. Its achievements in sports
7. [country's] armed forces

Table 5
The Effect of *Pride* on *Anti-Immigrant Sentiment*, by Country

| | Pride |
|----|--------------|
| DK | .133*** |
| FI | .094*** |
| DE | .093*** |
| US | .090*** |
| AU | .084*** |
| NO | .081*** |
| IE | .074** |
| AT | .071** |
| CH | .070*** |
| SE | .058*** |
| GB | .050** |
| FR | .046** |
| ES | .037*** |
| NL | .035** |
| PT | .004 |
| CA | .003 |
| NZ | -.009 |

Cells contain coefficients from OLS regression. Based on 2003 ISSP, weighted, OECD countries only. Model controls for gender, income, age and education.

Table 6
The Effect of *Patriotic* and *Chauvinistic Nationalism* on *Anti-Immigrant Sentiment*, by Country

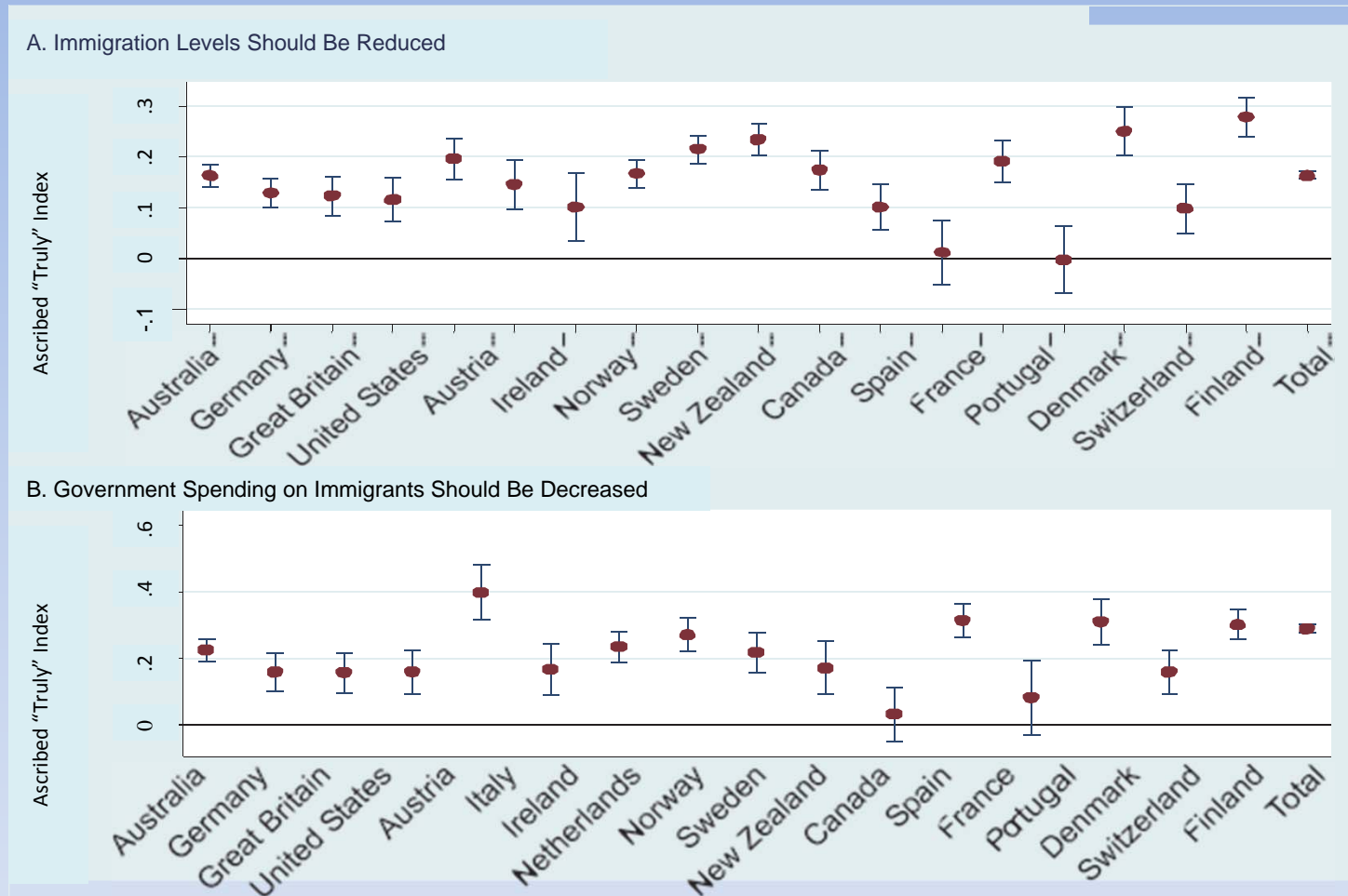
| | Patriotic Nationalism | Chauvinistic Nationalism |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| FI | -.205*** | .331*** |
| US | -.211*** | .307*** |
| GB | -.218*** | .298*** |
| SE | -.207*** | .291*** |
| FR | -.225*** | .287*** |
| AU | -.131*** | .280*** |
| DK | -.121*** | .279*** |
| NO | -.154*** | .276*** |
| AT | -.177*** | .271*** |
| NL | -.181*** | .266*** |
| CH | -.090*** | .217*** |
| DE | -.136*** | .191*** |
| CA | -.208*** | .160*** |
| IE | -.085* | .154*** |
| NZ | -.150*** | .150*** |
| ES | -0.014 | .119*** |
| PT | -.144*** | .052* |

Cells contain standardized coefficients from OLS regressions. Based on 2003 ISSP, weighted, OECD countries only. Models include controls for gender, age, education and income. Data generously provided by Stuart Soroka.

Ascriptive Identity a key factor

- The next table shows that the more strongly one feels that ascriptive factors like ancestry and nativity are very important to one's national identity, the more opposed to immigration, government assistance to immigrants, and policies that maintain cultural differences. This pattern is virtually every where in North America and Europe, including strong MCP countries.

Figure 1 Ascriptive nationalism and attitudes on immigration



Note: Points represent estimates produced by regressing Ascribed Immigration Qualifications/Ascribed "Truly" Item Indices on the outcome measures specified in the figure headings. For individual countries, these are estimated using bivariate OLS regression, and for the "Total" sample they are estimated using a bivariate mixed-effects, random intercepts model. Range plots represent the 95% confidence intervals, using OLS robust standard errors. Ascribed indices are scored from -1 = "lowest" to +1 = "highest," and all outcome measures are scored from 0 = "pro-immigration" to 1 = "anti-immigration." Sample was a pooling of 1995 and 2003 waves of the ISSP survey. The only criteria that influenced which ISSP was used was item availability. Data are weighted. Source: ISSP 1995 and 2003.

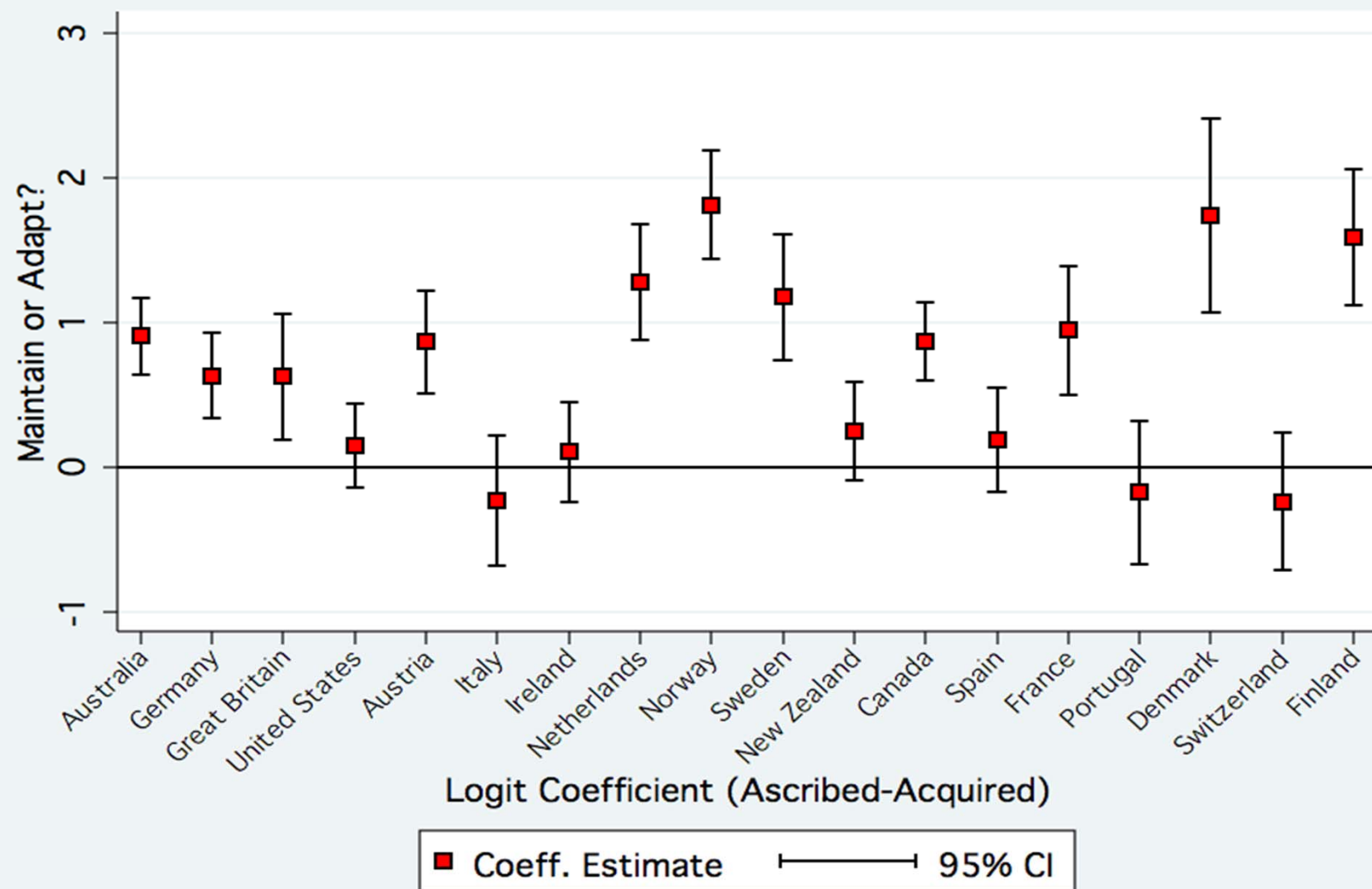
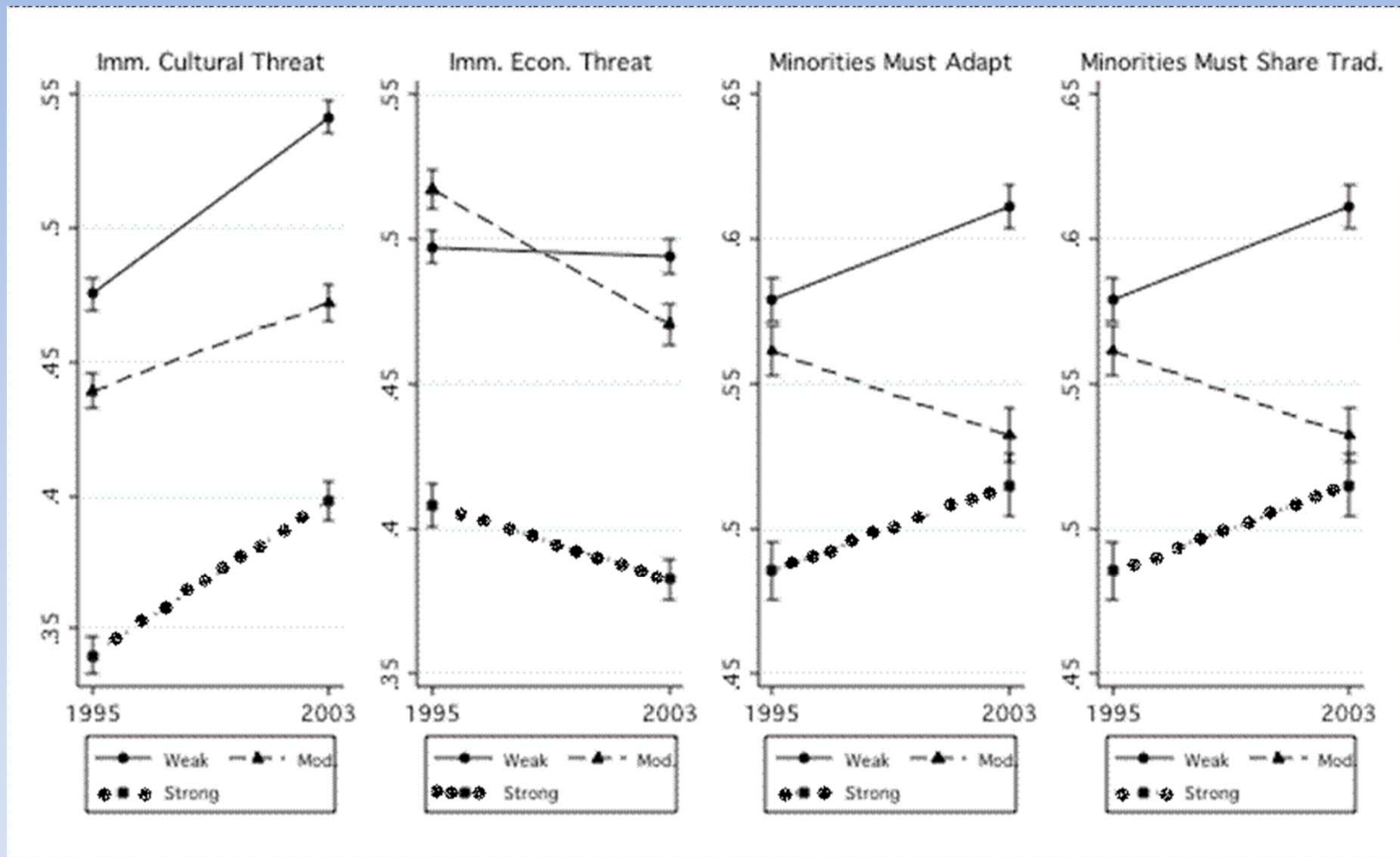


Figure 2
Perceived Immigrant Threat and Opposition to Multiculturalism, by Multiculturalism Policy Category



Weak MC are: Austria, Germany, Ireland, Norway and Spain

Modest MC are: U.S. Sweden, New Zealand and UK

Strong MC are Australia, Canada

Notes: Symbols represent mean values – based on policy category – for citizen respondents, Variables are scored from 0-1

Source: ISSP 1995 and 2003.

Modeling European opposition to Immigration

- Net table is a multi-level model of opposition to increased immigration in Europe. Sample is drawn from four waves of the European Social Survey (2002-2008)
- Predictors include MCP Index scores, economic conditions at the national level, immigrant stocks and immigrant flows

Table 7
Desired Immigration Level, European Social Survey

| | <i>Immigrants of Same Race</i> (0 = Allow Many to 1 = Allow None) | | <i>Immigrants of Different Race</i> (0 = Allow Many to 1 = Allow None) | |
|----------------------|--|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| | I | II | I | II |
| Unemployment Rate | 0.007*** (0.001) | -0.014 (0.048) | 0.007*** (0.001) | -0.039 (0.050) |
| % For. Born | 0.016*** (0.001) | 0.005 (0.008) | 0.011*** (0.001) | 0.005 (0.009) |
| Multicult. Policy | -0.027 (0.064) | -0.001 (0.005) | -0.052 (0.052) | -0.001 (0.005) |
| Perceived FB | -- | 0.161*** (0.012) | -- | 0.175*** (0.012) |
| Perceived FB Inflows | -- | 0.099*** (0.009) | -- | 0.138*** (0.009) |
| ESS Round 2 | -0.029*** (0.003) | -- | -0.009** (0.003) | -- |
| ESS Round 3 | -0.028*** (0.003) | -- | -0.004 (0.003) | -- |
| ESS Round 4 | -0.044*** (0.004) | -- | -0.032*** (0.004) | -- |
| Constant | 0.244*** (0.035) | 0.405*** (0.088) | 0.298*** (0.030) | 0.429*** (0.092) |
| n | 77474 | 18720 | 77445 | 18722 |

Notes: *** p < .001 ** p < .01 * p < .05. Each column presents estimates from a single random intercepts multi-level model, with standard errors in parentheses. %Unemployment and % Foreign-born are for the current year. Individual level covariates whose coefficients were not displayed are: unemployed, subjective economic well-being, age, education gender, left-right identification, foreign-born, and minority status. Source: ESS Cumulative, 2002-2008.

Key Results of Table 7

- 1. Older, less-educated, female, economically disadvantaged are more anti-immigrant
- 2. National levels of unemployment boost anti-immigrant sentiment
- 3. Perceived influx of immigrants (more coming in) is a strong predictor of opposition, more than the existing level of foreign-born.
- 4. Multicultural policies have not impact on boosting or lowering opposition to immigration

Conclusions and Questions

- Elites are more favorable to immigration than publics in virtually every country.
- The public prefers assimilation in the sense of believing that nations need a common language and culture.
- Yet there is belief also that some degree of pluralism is compatible with assimilation as long as main values of host country are learned and respected by immigrants.
- For division between Us and Them to dissolve, ascriptive definitions of nationhood must dissolve, a difficult task, especially if minorities are asserting the right to cultural recognition and representation
- Future research: what is the role of public opinion in shaping policy?
- Do multicultural policies, viewed more precisely, help or hurt immigrant integration and social cohesion?
- How can a multi-ethnic society create a civic sense of national identity?

Appendix: Item Wording & Coding

European Social Survey

Outcomes

“Now, using this card, to what extent do you think [country] should³¹ allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most people to come and live here?”

Allow Many (0.00)

Allow Some (0.33)

Allow a few (0.67)

Allow none (1.00)

“How about people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people? Still use this card.”

Allow Many (0.00)

Allow Some (0.33)

Allow a few (0.67)

Allow none (1.00)

“How about people from the poorer countries outside Europe? Use the same card.”

Allow Many (0.00)

Allow Some (0.33)

Allow a few (0.67)

Allow none (1.00)

“Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]’s economy that people come to live here from other countries? Please use this card.”

11-point scale, coded from 0 = “good” to 1 = “bad”

“And, using this card, would you say that [country]’s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?”

11-point scale, coded from 0 = “enriched” to 1 = “undermined”

Perceptions

“Out of every 100 people living in [country], how many do you think were born outside [country]?”

estimated percentage (re-scored from 0 – 1)

“How do you think the number of people *leaving* [country] nowadays compares to the number *coming to live* in [country]? Please use this card.”

Many more leaving (0.00)

More people leaving (0.25)

About the same arriving as leaving (0.50)

More people arriving (0.75)

Many more people arriving (1.00)

Appendix Continued: *International Social Survey Programme*

National Identity Module

“Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is...” (coded 0.00 = “not important at all,” 0.33 = “not very important,” 0.67 “fairly important,” and 1.00 = “very important”).

- “To have been born in country”
- “To be able to speak [COUNTRY LANGUAGE]”
- “To be a [DOMINANT RELIGION IN COUNTRY]”
- “To respect [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] political institutions and laws”
- “To feel [COUNTRY NATIONALITY]”

“Do you think the number of immigrants coming to [country] nowadays should be...”

Increased a lot (0.00)

- Increased (0.25)
- Left the same (0.50)
- Decreased (0.75)
- Decreased a lot (1.00)

“There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in [country]. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?” (5-category, from 0=“strongly disagree” to 1=“strongly agree”)

- “Immigrants increase crime rates”
- “Immigrants are generally good for [country’s] economy”
- “Immigrants take jobs away from people born in [country]”
- “Immigrants improve [country nationality] society by bringing in new ideas and cultures”

“Some people say that it is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society.

Which of these views comes closer to your own?”

- Maintain distinct customs and traditions (0.00)
- Adapt and blend into larger society (1.00)